

## Skygac's Column

(Written especially for The Toller.)

Deceit is deception even if the war-makers did excuse it with the polite name of camouflage. It is a characteristic of savagery and a capitalist class necessity. "Business is business my boy!"

Capitalism has made deception an art. Black art as it were.

Always think and act in the interest of those who rule and rob you and you will always be spoken of by those who rule and rob you as a good, loyal, patriotic godfearing citizen. But what a price to pay for praise!

Every conceivable way (except the ONE and ONLY way) to achieve the solidarity of the working class. The one and only method is by and through the spread of correct scientific information—Scientific Socialism.

There are no short cuts to science.

How can a few exploit the many and not allow the many to find out how it is done? Ask the modern school-ma'am. She ought to know—but alas, in nine cases out of ten she doesn't. It is the deceit of the modern educational system.

Plute Press idiot-articles are now telling us all about starving Russia. How she has plenty of raw materials and plenty of man power, yet starves. Then they tell us it is because of the wrong teachings of socialism. More deceit. What the P. P. fails to tell is the fact that you can not work up raw materials without machinery and the Allied blockade keeps Russia from getting the necessary tools. The P. P. has told so many lies that a few more or less really makes little difference. In the mean time the soviet idea has spread to the four corners of the biblical earth and worried the exploiters of mankind much.

The difference between the value of laboring power and the value of labor's product is the bone of contention between the workers and the master-class. Every clash of the classes is over this difference or other minor matters which arise out of this condition. The problem of the master-class is to find some manner or method whereby the clash of the classes may be avoided and yet allow the master class to keep the difference between the value of labor power and the value of labor's product. A leather medal (made of imitation—in conformity with the spirit of the times) containing a replica of the famous fourteen pointless points will be given to the first person who can accurately foretell just when the master-class will give up their fruitless search.

Our struggle to live drives us forward. Our master-class training holds us back. Wherein lies our free-moral-agency?

Social production has grown too large for capitalist-class ownership. Social ownership must follow.

"President releases political prisoners"—press headline. Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare pardoned by the president after two years imprisonment. Thus gradually do we learn that there really ARE political prisoners in this used-to-be land of the free.

Form a card of thanks published in the local paper we learn of the influence of modern industrialism upon everything—including funerals. "We wish to thank our friends and neighbors and also employees of—Machine company, (where she worked) and—Motor Company (where he worked) for the kindness and sympathy shown us during the illness and at the death of our wife and mother,—C. B. and children."

All the political parties of the master class should vie with each other for the rights to the popular song. "I'm forever blowing bubbles, pretty bubbles in the air." But the worker who chases those pretty bubbles is a Dubb of the tribe of Henry.

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## PALMER AND DEPT. OF JUSTICE GRIDIRONED

WASHINGTON—Forgery, perjury and assault have been committed by agents of Attorney General Palmer in the course of "continued violation of the Constitution and breaking of laws by the Department of Justice", according to a damning indictment, backed by affidavits and photographs, made public here by a committee of distinguished members of the American bar.

This sensational allegation of persistent criminality among the highest law officers of the government is addressed "To The American People" and is called a "Report Upon Illegal Practices by The United States Department of Justice." It is a report to the National Popular Government League and is signed by the following lawyers:

Z. Chafee, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.  
Professor of Law, Harvard Law School.

Felix Frankfurter, New York,  
Harvard Law School.

Prof. Ernst Freund, Chicago, Ill.

Prof. of Jurisprudence and Public Law, Univ. of Chicago.—Author of "Standards of American Legislation," etc.

Swinburne Hale, New York,

Attorney-at-Law. Late Captain Military Intelligence Division, General Staff, U. S. S.

Alfred Niles, Baltimore, Md.  
Late Judge of the District Court.

Attorney-at-Law.  
Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.—Attorney-at-Law, Member American Bar Association.

Roscoe Pound, Boston, Mass.

Dean of the Law School, Harvard University.

David Wallerstein, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Attorney-at-Law; Member American Bar Association.

Frank P. Walsh, New York and Kansas City.—Attorney-at-Law.

Tyrell Williams, St. Louis, Mo.  
Dean of the Law School, Washington University.

Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Attorney-at-Law, U. S. District Attorney, resigned.

Preliminary to more than fifty printed pages of exhibits to prove their charge, the lawyers made the following statement:

"TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:  
For more than six months we, the undersigned lawyers, whose sworn duty it is to uphold the Constitution and Laws of the United States, have seen with growing apprehension the continued violation of that Constitution and breaking of those Laws by the Department of Justice of the United States government.

"Under the guise of a campaign for the suppression of radical activities, the office of the Attorney General, acting by its local agents throughout the country, and giving express instructions from Washington, has committed continual illegal acts. Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held incommunicado without access of friends or counsel; homes have been entered without search-warrant and property seized and removed; other property has been wantonly destroyed; workmen and workwomen suspected of radical views have been shamefully abused and maltreated. Agents of the Department of Justice have been introduced into radical organizations for the purpose of informing upon their members or inciting them to activities; those agents have been instructed from Washington to arrange meetings upon certain dates for the express object of facilitating wholesale raids and arrests. In support of these illegal acts, and to create sentiment in its favor, the Department of Justice has also constituted itself a propaganda bureau, and has sent to newspapers and magazines of this country quantities of material designed to excite public opinion against radicals, all at the expense of the government and outside the scope of the Attorney General's duties.

"We make no argument in favor of any radical doctrine as such, whether Socialist, Communist or Anarchist. No one of us belongs to any of these schools of thought. Nor do we now raise any question as to the Constitutional protection of free speech and a free press. We are concerned solely with bringing to the attention of the American people the utterly illegal acts which have been committed by those charged with the highest duty of enforcing the laws — acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute.

"The Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides: 'Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.' Since these illegal acts have been committed by the highest legal powers in the United States, there is no final appeal from them except to the conscience and condemnation of the American people. American institutions have not in fact been protected by the Attorney General's ruthless suppression. On the contrary those institutions have been seriously undermined, and revolutionary unrest has been vastly intensified. No organizations of radicals acting through propaganda over the last six months could have created as much revolutionary sentiment in America as has been created by the acts of the Department of Justice itself.

"Even were one to admit that there existed any serious 'Red menace' before the Attorney General started his 'unflinching war' against it, his campaign has been singularly fruitless. Out of the many thousands suspected by the Attorney General (he had already listed 60,000 by name and history on Nov. 14, 1919, aliens and citizens) what do the figures show of net result? Prior to January 1, 1920, there were actually deported 263 persons. Since January 1 there have been actually deported 18 persons. Since January 1 there have been ordered deported an additional 529 persons. The Attorney General has consequently got rid of 810 alien suspects, and, since we know of no successful 'Red' prosecutions of citizens by him, he has, on his own showing, at least 59,190 left to cope with.

"It has always been the proud boast of America that this is a government of laws and of men. Our Constitution and laws have been based on the simple elements of human nature. Free men cannot be driven and repressed; they must be led. Free men respect justice and follow truth, but arbitrary power they will oppose until the end of time. There is no danger of revolution so great as that created by suppression, ruthlessness, and by deliberate violation of the simple rules of American law and American decency.

"It is a fallacy to suppose that, any more than in the past, any servant of the people can safely constitute himself their ruler. Any such contention is a denial of the fundamental American theory of the consent of the governed."

"We do not question the right of the Department of Justice to use its agents in the Bureau of Investigation to ascertain when the law is being violated. But the American people have never tolerated the use of over-cover provocateurs, or 'agents provocateurs,' such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into the radical movements, have reached positions of influence therein, have occupied themselves with informing upon or instigating acts which might be declared criminal, and at the express direction of Washington have brought about meetings of radicals in order to make possible wholesale arrests at such meetings.

The Fifth Amendment provides as follows: "No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

It has been the practice of the Department of Justice and its agents, after making illegal arrests without warrant, to question the accused person and to force admissions from him by terrorism, which admissions were subsequently to be used against him in deportation proceedings. Instances of this sort appear in various Exhibits. Attention is also called to the Cannon case, in which Department agents committed assault, forgery and perjury.

"The legal functions of the Attorney General are: to advise the Government on questions of law, and to prosecute persons who have violated federal statutes. For the Attorney General to go into the field of propaganda against radicals is a deliberate misuse of his office and a deliberate squandering of funds entrusted to him by Congress. One Exhibit is a copy of a form letter sent out by the Attorney General under date of January 27, 1920, to many magazines and editors throughout the country, deliberately intended to prejudice them in favor of his actions. Another Exhibit is a description of an illustrated page offered free to country newspapers at the expense of the Department of Justice, patently designed to affect public opinion in advance of court decision and prepared in the manner of an advertising campaign in favor of repression. These documents speak for themselves.

"The Exhibits are only a small part of the evidence which may be presented of the continued violation of law by the Attorney General's Department. These Exhibits are, to the best of our knowledge and belief (based upon careful investigation) truthful both in substance and detail. Drawn mainly from the four centers of New York City, Boston, Mass., Detroit, Mich., and Hartford, Conn., we knew them to be typical of conditions which have prevailed in many parts of the country.

"Punishments of the utmost cruelty, and heretofore unthinkable in America, have become usual. Great numbers of persons arrested, both aliens and citizens, have been threatened, beaten

with blackjacks, struck with fists, jailed under abominable conditions, or actually tortured. Exhibits are in our possession and affidavits and evidence of these practices.

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution provides:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

"Many hundreds of citizens and aliens alike have been arrested in wholesale raids, without warrants or pretense of warrants. They have then either been released, or have been detained in police stations or jails for indefinite lengths of time while warrants were being applied for. It has been established in open court before Judge Anderson in Boston, Mass., that warrants of arrest were dispensed with pursuant to express written instructions from the Department of Justice at Washington. The cases are far too numerous to catalogue, but typical instances may be found in Exhibits. The secret instructions of the Department also appear as Exhibits.

In countless cases agents of the Department of Justice have entered the homes, offices or gathering places of persons suspected of radical affiliations, and, without pretense of any search warrant, have seized and removed property belonging to them for use by the Department of Justice. In many of these raids property which could not be removed or was not useful to the Department, was intentionally smashed and destroyed. One Exhibit is a photograph of the interior of a house raided by the Department of Justice. Other Exhibits give a recent opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court in a non-radical case, condemning seizure without warrant by the Department of Justice, and the opinion of the U. S. Circuit Court in Montana in a more flagrant case.

"We do not question the right of the Department of Justice to use its agents in the Bureau of Investigation to ascertain when the law is being violated. But the American people have never tolerated the use of over-cover provocateurs, or 'agents provocateurs,' such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into the radical movements, have reached positions of influence therein, have occupied themselves with informing upon or instigating acts which might be declared criminal, and at the express direction of Washington have brought about meetings of radicals in order to make possible wholesale arrests at such meetings.

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## Court Frees -- then Enslaves

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Nine members of the Industrial Workers of the World who were induced to enter a plea of technical guilt in criminal syndicalism cases here are bitterly resentful against those who caused them to make that plea.

They declare now that they didn't understand just what it would lead them into — for in making their pleas they inadvertently swore away so many liberties that though out of jail they feel they are no longer free beings.

These defendants fear, too, that their own comrades will look upon them as betrayers. In making the compromise sought by the state authorities "to save expense to the state," the nine industrialists declared thus: "We believe we are not guilty of any crime; but if simply being a member of the I. W. W. is a crime, then we are willing to admit that we are members."

Commanding the American Legion for its raids on halls occupied by radical labor organizations, Superior Judge Frank R. Willis sentenced the defendants to serve from one to 14 years in prison, then suspended the sentences and placed the men on probation for five years.

Under the terms of this probation, the nine men are bound by the following rules:

They must not sell nor circulate copies of Upton Sinclair's book, "The Brass Check," nor any other literature dealing with the class struggle.

They must not visit the rooms of the Shelley Club, a conservative Socialist organization.

They must not visit the office of James H. Ryckman, labor lawyer and president of the Los Angeles unit of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

They must not enter any restaurant leaving the designation "cafe."

They must not visit skating rinks.

They must not be on the public streets at "late or unusual hours of the night."

They must report at the probation office on the first Sunday morning of each month until 1925.

Although Judge Willis for bade the industrialists from associating with Socialists, whose whole program is based on lawful, orderly, political action, the court told them they were free to be members of the American Federation of Labor "because it is in favor of securing all the rights due to working men by legislation."

"That is not what is termed a radical organization," declared Judge Willis. This comment aroused broad smiles in the courtroom, for before this very judge, in the Stein and Steelink v. I. W. W. trials recently, evidence had shown that vastly more violence had been employed in A. F. of L. strikes than had ever developed in strikes fostered by the I. W. W.

HELSINGFORS, Finland.—Edward Valpas, editor and leader of the Finnish Socialist party and of the Finnish revolution in 1918, has been sentenced to prison for life. He was tried on the charge of high treason.

## The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXIV.

The Father's View.

When Gustave Anderson came home from the office that evening, his wife informed him, of their daughter's new departure from the straight and narrow path, in which she ought to walk. She told him, that Olive had received, and answered a letter from "that man", and also that she had broken with poor Frank Cartwright. This was the unkindest cut of all. For it was Mrs. Anderson's fond ambition to see every thing between Olive and Frank go well. She looked upon Frank as an ideal young man, principally because he went to church when Olive went, and because he was physically and mentally weak to be wicked. It must be said to the credit of Olive that she had tolerated the boy's attention, practically for no other reason than that it pleased her mother. This it was that caused Mrs. Anderson to storm and rave about the girl's action.

As usual, however, Gus. Anderson refused to become excited. Nothing his wife ever said or did either, surprised or excited him. He had always made his living by his wits, and he had learned from experience that wits are dulled by excitement. "A man does not do his best thinking when all up in the air," he was wont to say. "He generally gets himself into trouble, and trouble don't pay." Anderson did not like trouble when it affected him or his. He did not mind making trouble for other people, if so doing, his ends were served. He was a typical Teuton. He loved to carry the war into the other fellows territory whenever he found it necessary to carry on war.

At home he frankly admitted that he had surrendered to his daughter and that he had accepted his wife, as an unavoidable visitation. Tonight he listened to her story with his usual nonchalance, while he made himself comfortable in his old arm chair in front of the fire place. He reached over and took his tobacco box from the center table and methodically filled his pipe, springing little grains of tobacco over his well proportioned, and not too immaculate abdomen. Next he laboriously hoisted his right foot upon his left knee and struck a match on the sole of his shoe. He now lighted his pipe, drew in the smoke with great deliberation, as he held the match before him and watched it burn out. Next he blew a series of tiny ringlets of smoke into the air, and leaned back lazily as he watched them dissolve away, all the while listening to Mrs. Anderson's prophecies and lamentations.

When she had finished, or perhaps only paused for breath her husband remarked quietly, "That was a queer lad, that hobo, you ought to have seen him. I'll be damned if I don't believe he wasn't a hobo at all. He sure didn't act like them. Generally, they are cowards or rough necks. He was neither. He sure got Olive started."

"Yes," broke in the mother, "that is what comes of sending innocent girls into jails to try and reform hardened criminals. That man has been on her mind ever since."

Gus. Anderson looked at his wife, amusement written on his face. Mrs. Anderson was a fanatical church woman. It was she who inducted the idea that it was God's will that we visit those in prison, into her daughter. Personally Anderson professed no religion. In fact he looked upon church and church work, as a social sad and feminine pastime. He never let an opportunity pass to point out its inconsistencies to his wife. Especially if she had met that boy in jail and started on a rampage about official iniquity. It amused him to hear his wife say the very same things he had said a few months before. So he remarked that it seemed to him, that God should keep an eye on those who served Him. "He is father to the orphans and husband to the widows," he chafed. He took a certain delight in punching holes in his wife's Christianity.

Returning to the subject of the boy, he asked Mrs. Anderson how she knew that he was a hardened criminal. Holding his pipe between two fingers before him and looking at her through a bluish cloud of smoke he said, "He may be a good boy for all you know."

"He was a jail bird, that's enough. No decent man ever goes to jail. And to think that my daughter should write to him. I have always been a good woman, why must this happen to me?"

"I can't see that anything is happening to you, or for that matter to Olive either that is not just now. And what is more if there is any thing to your religion at all, then it preaches morals, justice and other things, which have no place in a business world. If that hobo is all that you say he is, then you must still give him credit for putting life in your daughters' religion. That is more than your penny grabbing sky pilot ever accomplished. She surely got the people stirred up and the bunch exposed. If your religion is any more than a dress parade, or a gossip mill if it really aims to be a moral force then you should thank God that that boy was locked up. His being in jail was a God send, altho I admit God's are generally expensive visitors. Just think of the fines, Duffy used to put on the burns. Why they nearly paid our city taxes and left us a handsome bunch of graft to decorate the church with. Then came along that bum, and he met our daughter or rather she found him, and she stirred up the old maids in skirts and pants, to a sentimentally moral consciousness, and now we have to pay the taxes and the percent out of our own pockets. From a moral view point, her work was fine, and I am proud of it. But morals cost money. They have no place in business. It was an expensive clean up, and it cost us some powerful friends as well. It isn't good policy to pry into methods by which other people make their living. Specially not for people like us. Our methods in turn will not stand much prying. I wish Olive would never have started that racket. But damn it I admire her nerve. She was more than her old dad. But then, her dad, has to make the living."

"But Pa, think of her writing to a total stranger with, to say the least

a bad reputation. The recklessness of it."

"That's her, bless her skinny little heart. I wish I could be like her. When she thinks she sees the right of a thing, she just naturally forgets herself and dives right in regardless of consequences. I feel that I'm a better man since I have been forced to defend her actions. Her conduct wasn't good business. It has cost us money but there is no dodging the issue she was right." Taking his pipe and blowing a fragrant cloud of smoke toward the ceiling, he continued, "and as for writing to a total stranger, let me tell you Ma. I don't believe that the human heart knows strangers. It is only as we compete to live that we grow shy, scared, and suspicious of one another. I did not know you when we were married and hang it I don't know you yet. Never will I reckon. But one thing is certain, that when you laid that little girl in my arms, nearly twenty years ago, right then I became pretty well convinced that we were tied pretty well together. And after that it did not make so much difference whether we understood each other or not, we knew that we were parents to that little chub, and that made us partners."

"But Pa do talk sense!" The mother demanded. "Flow are we going to save Olive from that man?"

"My advice would be that we send for him and give him a job in the office, or on a farm, then we can see what kind of a man he is. If he is the man for her, then there is no earthly use fussing about it, and if he is not she is the only one who can find it out. If you go and fight her, you will drive her to him just as sure as God made little apples."

"I'll not stand for any such foolishness. I'll order her to stop writing to him," his wife vociferated. "There is no sense in her throwing over a good boy like Frank Cartwright for a common jail bird, the ideal!"

Anderson's pipe was now firmly between his lips at the corner of his mouth. It moved slowly from a half past four to a ten thirty position in front of his oval face. Finally he said, "being in jail is no disgrace. All your Holy apostles were pinched off and on, even Jesus Christ was convicted as a criminal, at least so your sky pilots tell us. Personally I have never been in jail, but that is not saying that I had not ought to have been there. Just a little more justice and a little less law, and your honorable and respected husband would be a striped canary today, and your Ma, would be taking in washings instead of going to hen parties."

By this time Mrs. Anderson was more than indignant she fairly snapped at her imperturbable husband. "Pa, answer me, what are you going to do about it? It is terrible. You are beginning to talk just like Olive. I'm ashamed of both of you."

Anderson laughed good naturedly. "Now, Ma," said he, "I know as anything ought to be done about it. You haven't produced sufficient evidence to warrant a conviction. Just because she wrote that Cartwright kid, and answered the letter from another man, that is not saying that the wedding bells are all greased for ringing." Then after a pause "I'll have a talk with Olle myself. It is true she is somewhat imprudent and I am sure she wants to do right. My advice to you is Ma, that you be careful not to do wrong."

This fairly infuriated the mother. "You're a great father, you are. You should be ashamed to encourage your child in her waywardness. You should set your foot down, and order her to make up with Frank Cartwright. Use your authority as a father and stop this foolishness," she finished her voice acid with anger.

"A father cannot be a judge," said Anderson, as he emptied his pipe in the fire place. "You gave me that little girl Ma, and I have always been proud of her. I've done her the best of things this side of the penitentiary to make you both comfortable. I would have liked to make you both happy, but as you find your happiness in heaven, and I find mine at the table, of course I realize that I have failed to some extent. Still it was for her and her, that I fooled myself into believing that wrong was right. Anything for your benefit as I saw it, and we all have different eyes. I may thank God, that she did not lose all respect for me when that kid in jail told her to look behind the curtains. And now you tell me that she is making a great decision and if it is true I want to hear her side of the story before giving any advice."

Mrs. Anderson saw that the battle was hopeless, and left the room just as Olive entered with the portiers.

"Mother has been telling me the news. Now suppose you tell me old Dad what you know about it?" Anderson said suavely.

Olive stood before him leaning on the back of a chair. She was as graceful as a willow bending in the summer breeze. "Yes, I received a letter from Mr. Thurston. I heard mother telling you about it."

"It worries your mother," "The letter?"

"Yes," "No, Frank Cartwright worries mother. She wants me to go with him just because she and his mother are friends. But it would be a crime for me to go with Frank. We are so hopelessly different."

"But he can give you a home and a respectable name," her mother blazed from the next room. "What can that hobo do for you?"

The father waved his hand in annoyance, and nodded for the girl to go on, and Olive continued, "I know that I could never marry Frank, so what is the use to be shamming. I know nothing of the other man. I've only seen him twice, I may never see him again. Very likely not, but I owe him one thing which I can never repay. He found me sleeping in the house of lies. He awakened me and showed me the path of truth. I am not thinking of marriage with any one. I want to go out in the world and fight the battle of the oppressed. I'll fight the same fight I have started here. And I will make others fight for the same

(Continued on page 4.)